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This evidently means: "when I begin to speak to him, in that moment I become to him *barbarus*." The translator has chosen *bim danne* to express this perfective idea.

The frequent use of *scal uuesan* indicates that the translator was not entirely satisfied with *uuerdan* as an exact equivalent for *erit*.

In the light of these examples, we are also obliged to reject Streitberg's theory for the Monsee Fragments.

The Benedictine Rule, the Murbach Hymns and the smaller monuments show also no traces of a distinction between perfective and imperfective Actionsart with reference to the future tense.

As the result of these investigations, we are forced to the general conclusion that Streitberg's theory, which he hopes to see verified for all the Germanic dialects, does not hold good for O.H.G. Wustmann in his monograph, *Verba Perfectiva, namentlich in Heliland*, shows that it must also be rejected for Old Saxon. He even refuses to accept it for Gothic in spite of Streitberg's ingenious exposition.

ELLEN C. HINSDALE.

Mount Holyoke College, Mass.

AMERICAN-FRENCH DIALECT COMPARISON.

Two Acadian-French Dialects compared with "Some Specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect Spoken in Maine."

PAPER NO. II.* (Conclusion.)

TABLE NO. I.

PHONOLOGICAL table of speech varieties known to occur with regularity in one or more of the French-speaking regions in and about the Dominion of Canada, illustrating *regularly-recurring variations* from standard French, with the French equivalents.

â=Fr. *â* or *a* in *pas*; a⁴⁹=Fr. *a* in *pas*; â=Fr. *a* in *pâtte*; æ as in E. *hat*; é=Fr. *è* and *ê*; è=Fr. *è* (in Fr. *ais* endings, etc. Acadian regions); e=Fr. *e* in *de*; æ=Fr. *è* (Canadian re-

gions); i=Fr. *i*; ĩ⁵⁰=Fr. *i*; ô⁵¹=Fr. *ô* or *a*; ô=Fr. *o* in *pot*; ô=Fr. *o* in *fort*; ô=Fr. *eu* in *peu*; ô⁵²=Fr. *eu* in *peur*; ô=Fr. *u* in E. *but*; u=Fr. *o* before *m* or *n* not nasal (Acadian regions); ũ=Fr. *u* in E. *pull*; ü=Fr. *ü*; wa=Fr. *oi* final (Acadian regions); wé=Fr. *oi* final (Canadian regions); wè=Fr. *oi* not final; wé=Fr. *oi* not final; æ=Fr. *un*; æ=Fr. *in*; æ=Fr. *en*; æ⁵³=Fr. *on*; â=Fr. *en*, *an*; â⁵⁴=Fr. *in*; è=nasal of Fr. *è*.

For this purpose, the French consonants may most conveniently be divided into: 1. Stops; 2. Liquids; and 3. Continuants.

1. Of the French stops, *p* and *b* correspond with dialect *p* and *b* very generally in all positions. Although cases of the assimilation of voiced consonants to unvoiced and the like (for example, dialect *apsæ*=Fr. *absent*), occur with great *regularity* in these dialects, inasmuch as they characterize to a greater or less extent all natural speech, they do not appear to me typical dialect features in the sense the table contemplates such traits. Likewise French *t*, *d*, *k* and *g*, when not before front vowels, correspond with dialect *t*, *d*, *k* and *g*. When, however, in French either *t*, *d*, *k* or *g* is followed by a front vowel the dialect equivalents may vary from the French. Thus dialect *ky*=Fr. *k* before front vowels: [kyèl]=Fr. *quel*; kyör=Fr. *cœur* (Canadian regions). Dialect tš=Fr. *k* before front vowels: [tšèl]=Fr. *quel*; tšör=Fr. *cœur* (Acadian regions). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+front vowel final, or before a consonant: [ptši]=Fr. *petit*; kriätšür=Fr. *créature* (Canadian regions). But dialect t=Fr. *t* before *i* or *u* final or before a consonant: [pti]=Fr. *petit*; kriätür=Fr. *créature* (Acadian regions). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: [mètšé]=Fr. *métier*; mōtšé=Fr. *moitié* (Acadian regions). Dialect

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Professor Chamberlain's article on the dialect of Granby in MOD. LANG. NOTES, for Jan., 1893, and the observations on *i*, p. 33 of his notes.

¹⁵¹ See Professor Squair's List (3) and cf. Professor Chamberlain's notes to Granby dialect, Nos. 1, 3 and 5, p. 31.

¹⁵² Rare, as far as I have observed.

¹⁵³ Can be heard in terminations corresponding to Fr. *-tion* in and around Bonaventure, Baie des Chaleurs.

¹⁵⁴ Noted in a number of words at Bonaventure; pš=Fr. *pain*; mš=Fr. *main*, etc. For similar and identical treatment of the Fr. nasals Corblet's Picard dictionary furnishes illustrations.

* Paper No. I appeared in MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, 1893, January and February, 1894; and part of Paper No. II in December, 1897, January, February and April, 1898.

¹⁴⁹ See the observations on *â*, *a* and *ä* at the beginning of Professor Sheldon's paper. I have not been able personally to observe a dialect *a*=Fr. *a* in *pas*, occurring regularly.

dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel: [džèp=Fr. *guêpe*; džöl=Fr. *gucule*] (Acadian regions). Dialect dz=Fr. *d*+front vowel final or before a consonant: [módžī=Fr. *maudit*; džir=Fr. *dire*; džü bwā=Fr. *du bois*] (Canadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: [džö=Fr. *dieu*; džáb=Fr. *diable*] (Acadian regions). But dialect d=Fr. *d* before *i* or *u* final, or before a consonant (Acadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *y* (consonant), Waterville: [mudžé=Fr. *moûiller*]. Dialect k=Fr. *t* before front vowels: [mwákyé=Fr. *moitié*; kyæ=Fr. *tiens*; küyó=Fr. *tuyau*] (Canadian regions and owing probably to Canadian influence, also Acadian regions). The cases of dialect k=Fr. *g*, I should hardly call a regular dialect feature, being confined, as far as I have observed, to a few words: fátik=Fr. *fatigue*; fátikā=Fr. *fatigant*, etc. Dialect y=Fr. *g* before front vowels: [yíd=Fr. *guide*] (Canadian regions and owing probably to Canadian influence, also Acadian regions). The pronunciation gyíd heard in some regions is a trait, dialect gy=Fr. *g*, that is parallel to dialect ky=Fr. *k*. Dialect y=Fr. *d* before a front vowel+a vowel: [yó=Fr. *dieu*] (Canadian and also Acadian regions). Dialect d=Fr. *g*+front vowel: [disè and dišæ=Fr. *guichef*]; however, Fr. *g*+front vowel is far more commonly represented by dialect *y* as in yíd=Fr. *guide*.

2. The dialect liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, and *r* may be said as a rule to correspond to the Fr. *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng* and *r*. The multitude of changes that occur in words containing these letters in these dialects, as indeed in language in general, are due to causes in sound change that are easily and well understood, to which reference has been made in a general way just before attempting this tabulation. Merely to instance one of these most frequent and regular traits occurring, too, so often in popular spoken French, take the many words in these dialects where dialect *ñ* represents Fr. *ni* plus a vowel: pañé=Fr. *panier*.¹⁵⁵

3. The dialect continuants *f*, *v*, *s*, *z*, *s*, *ž*, *h*, and *y* are also, as a rule, identical in these dialects with the respective Fr. equivalents, save

¹⁵⁵ See p. 173, § 407, of Passy's *Étude*; also p. 23 of the second edition of his *Les sons du français*.

as has already been shown in some localities, dialect *h* or *h*¹⁵⁶ takes the place of Fr. *ž* and *y*=*dž* in Waterville.

To the above phonological features may be added what few characteristics have been noted in regard to the morphology of the Dominion French so far examined: (1). òn=Fr. *une*, [Acadian regions]. (2). an=Fr. *une*, [Canadian regions]. æ=Fr. *un*, and so generally in use throughout Canada, as well as in popular French, has already been noted among the phonetical features. (3). ô=Fr. *on* in the sense of *nous*.¹⁵⁷ [More especially Canadian than Acadian.] (4). ž(ə) with verb forms in ô(z)=Fr. *ous*, corresponding to Fr. forms with *nous* [Acadian regions].¹⁵⁸ (5). Dialects having a preterite tense and those lacking the same.¹⁵⁷ (6). Dialects which form the preterite of all the verbs on the analogy of Fr. verbs whose infinitives end in *-ir*.¹⁵⁸—thus, ž èmi=Fr. *j'aimai*; ž kuri=Fr. *je courus*, etc. (7). àwèr=Fr. *avoir* is the auxiliary used with all neuter as well as transitive verbs.¹⁵⁹

Now, of these speech characteristics noted in various regions, it can hardly fail to be apparent in view of the speech comparisons already made, that the majority of them are identical for Acadian and Canadian French, as well as for popular spoken French in the country round about Paris. While this is true, comparisons show also that there are several

¹⁵⁶ This trait also occurs in the Lorraine dialects, for there are a number of examples given where there is little chance of mistaking it. Under § vi, p. 25 of Adam's *Patois lorrains* is the heading: *hh, h, ch, j, g (doux)*. Then follows: "L'un des traits les plus caractéristiques de l'idiome populaire lorrain est que dans un assez grand nombre de mots, les articulations *hh, h, ch, j, g (doux)* correspondent aux articulations françaises et latines: *s, ch, g, j, r, re, rg, rs, s, ss, sc, st, v, x, z*."

¹⁵⁷ The preterite is not popular in the French about Paris according to Agnel, *Observations*, pp. 53-78, and Beyer and Passy in *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 155, Anmerkung § 152, declare in large type: "Dasselbe ist aber in der Umgangssprache der Nordfranzosen ausgestorben." This accounts for its missing in many localities in the Dominion.

¹⁵⁸ Where preterites are found in the French dialects, one of the commonest kinds of formations is the above. This assimilation of the conjugation in *-er* to that in *-ir* was very common in the sixteenth century and evidently has been retained largely in the Dominion. See Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *Seizième Siècle en France*, p. 237; also Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 223 and the note 1.

¹⁵⁹ Common to the rural regions about Paris, Agnel, *Observations*, p. 76, v.

features, which are particularly apt to be found in Acadian regions, though they may, too, appear in some Canadian ones and *vice versa*. It seems worth while, therefore, the better to make a comparative statement, as well as for convenience of reference, to present such features in a brief tabular form by themselves:

TABLE NO. 2.

Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Acadian than in Canadian regions.

(1). Dialect è=Fr. *et, aie, ais, ait*, or any combination which, when final, is pronounced as Fr. è; that is, Acadian and standard French (unlike Canadian and standard French) agree: mōvè=Fr. *mauvais*.

(2). Dialect u=Fr. *o* before *m, n*, or *ng*, not nasal: bun=Fr. *bonne*; pum=Fr. *pomme*; truñō=Fr. *trognon*.

(3). Dialect wa final=Fr. *oi* final: dwa=Fr. *doigt*; žwā=Fr. *joie*.

(4). Dialect tš=Fr. *k* before front vowels: tšūrè=Fr. *curé*; tšör=Fr. *cœur*; tšès=Fr. *caisse*.

(5). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+vowel (usually *i*), followed by another vowel: mōtšè=Fr. *moitié*; tšæ=Fr. *tiens*.

(6). Dialect t=Fr. *t* before *i* or *u* final, or before *i* or *u*+consonant: pti=Fr. *petit*; kriätür=Fr. *créature*.

(7). Dialect dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel: dzètè=Fr. *guetter*.

(8). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: džāb=Fr. *diable*; ākādžæ=Fr. *acadien*.

(9). Dialect d=Fr. *d* before *i* or *u* final, or before *i* or *u*+consonant: midi=Fr. *midi*; dü bwa=Fr. *du bois*.

(10). Dialect òn=Fr. *une*.

(11). Dialect z(ə)=*je* with forms in ò(z)=Fr. *ous* used corresponding to Fr. *nous* with first person plural of the verb; the forms in ò(z) are also used with the third person plural pronouns: 41 ž savyō for Fr. *nous savions*; i savyō=Fr. *ils savaient*.

[Dialect infinitives in *i* final corresponding to Fr. *-ir*: afèbli=Fr. *affaiblir*].¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Noted in note 51, Paper No. I; a common trait of the dialect of Haut-Maine, the forms *couri* and *fini* being given as examples for Fr. *courir* and *finir*. See the *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine* by Roger de Montesson, comments on the verb just preceding the vocabulary. Also common sixteenth century pronunciation, Thurot, Vol. ii, pp. 161-3.

TABLE NO. 3.

Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Canadian than Acadian regions.

(1). Dialect æ=Fr. *è* final, written in many ways, *-aie, -ais, ait, et*, etc.: āglæ=Fr. *anglais*; vræ=Fr. *vrai*.

(2). Dialect o=Fr. *o* before *m, n*, or *ng*, just as in French: pòm=Fr. *pomme*, etc.

(3). Dialect { wè } wé=Fr. *oi* final: { mwè } mwé=Fr. *moi*; { twè } twé=Fr. *toi*.

(4). Dialect ky=Fr. *k* (sound) before front vowels: kyór=Fr. *cœur*.

(5). Dialect k=Fr. *t* before front vowels (usually *i*)+another vowel: mékyé=Fr. *métier*; āmikyé=Fr. *amitié*.

(6). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+front vowel final or followed by a consonant: ètšü=Fr. *es-tu*; rōtšir=Fr. *rôtir*.

(7). Dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel: yīd=Fr. *guide*; yirlād=Fr. *guirlande*; nāviyé=Fr. *naviguer*. Cases of dialect gy=Fr. *g*+front vowel, as in gyīd=Fr. *guide*, can be heard in some localities, though as far as I have been able to observe, not of frequent occurrence; certainly not when compared with the parallel feature above, dialect ky=Fr. *k* before front vowels.

[Dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel also occurs in Canadian regions, but with far less frequency than dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel: èdüiy=Fr. *aiguille*; diyóm=Fr. *Guillaume*.]

(8). Dialect y=Fr. *d* before a front vowel+a vowel: yāmæ=Fr. *diamant*; yāb=Fr. *diable*.

(9). Dialect dz=Fr. *d*+front vowel final or followed by a consonant: midzi=Fr. *midi*; džür=Fr. *dur*.

(10). Dialect an or æn=Fr. *une*.

(11). Dialect ò=Fr. *on* in the sense of *nous* for Fr. *nous*.

We can now get from the results presented some idea of what may or may not prove to be Acadian or Canadian features of a French dialect such as that examined by Professor Sheldon. There are dialect specimens which yield more readily to such treatment than the Waterville dialect. For example, I have a newspaper sent me from Weymouth, a seaport on the southwestern part of Nova Scotia on St. Mary's Bay, published Thursday, March 14,

1895, in which appears an article, a column and a quarter in length by "Marichette" and supposed to be written in the popular dialect of Cheticamp,¹⁶¹ N. S., from which it has been forwarded to the editor of this newspaper "L'Evangeline" at Weymouth. Were the letter written phonetically, I think every trait which I have indicated in Table No. 2 as apt to be found in Acadian regions would there be found. As it is, so marked are several of the characteristics that the dialect student, familiar with Dominion French, after reading merely a few lines cannot hesitate to characterize this specimen as Acadian rather than Canadian. To prove that it contains every individual trait comprised in the Table of the features that are likely to be met with in Acadian regions is another matter,—a task which defies proof—though if one hears the article read by a native,¹⁶² I believe one cannot be in doubt. As I wish to make no statement which I cannot support with material at hand, I will give an example of each characteristic taken in order from the Acadian French Table (No. 2), and let the reader judge for himself whether the phrase contains the requisite data in order to characterize it as one thing rather than another.

1. . . . le reste de son histoire est trop *mauvais français* pour le comprendre.

2. Jusqu'à vote *homme* de Halifax chi veut qu'reller avec moi.

¹⁶¹ A small hamlet in the southwest corner of Nova Scotia, near the coast about midway between Yarmouth and Digby, in the Acadian region, and several hundred miles distant from the Cheticamp, C. B., where my notes were taken.

¹⁶² I did not hear the article read by a native of Cheticamp, N. S.; I did, however, hear it read by a native of Cheticamp, C. B., whose pronunciation of it agreed with what I anticipated the author meant, though of course as a matter of fact my reader from Cheticamp, C. B., could not *know* the pronunciation of any other dialect than his own, unless he had studied such a dialect. The writer of the letter is by no means consistent in the spelling of the same words; again unless one writes phonetically, it must be evident that it is impossible to be absolutely sure of just what the pronunciation of a given word is. Nevertheless despite these serious obstacles to stating anything at all about the language of the article with scientific accuracy, it must be evident from the italicized words that the signs point in one direction, and though proof is wanting in regard to these signs, yet one conclusion rather than another will almost surely be drawn. For the dialect searcher in the Dominion, as well as for the tourist exploring regions little frequented, Sweetzer's *Maritime Provinces* (on the plan of the Baedeker's *Guides* and revised annually) will prove a most useful companion guide.

3. Mais asteur j'y *crois*.

4. Le bœuf avait la *cheue* droite *chi* pointait vers l'étoile.

5. Chelle *pichier*, sa faisait peur, sé trop long . . . pour tout vous dire.

6. . . . s'il n'avait pas *sortit* ses griffes de sa poche . . .

7. Quanq'ça été fini le toreau avait la langue sorti deux pieds longs de la *gheulle*.

8. Il est savagne¹⁶³ comme un *jâble* s'ti là.

9. Pite Doucet a *vendu* son cheval . . . après *midi* sur le lac . . .

10. J'me souviens qu'il avait *printé* sur l'*Evangeline* une¹⁶⁴ histoire chi faisait trembler.

11. *Je savons* pourquoi. Ces filles là *croiyons* qu'elles *pouvions* toute le marier à la fois.

[. . . mais je croyons qu'il a promis que M. Koppe ferait *sorti* de l'argent pour le chais du p'tit R—.]

Comparing, now, with a view to seeing what the proportion of Acadian or Canadian features of the *Specimens* are, we find in the first place what must be obvious even without comparing every individual trait found in one place with every other in another place, that while the majority of phonological features are identical in Acadian, Canadian and popular French, there are nevertheless, besides an endless variety of local differences in all parts of the Dominion, a number of such well-marked speech traits, as to characterize, at least to a certain extent, the phonology of one speech locality when compared with that of another. Such speech characteristics are exhibited in Tables No. 2 and No. 3. Let us take these traits in the order in which they are numbered and compare the corresponding traits which the Waterville dialect may happen to have with the characteristic speech traits in these Tables.

There are no examples among the Waterville *Specimens* of the traits in the Acadian Table no. 2, numbered (2), (3), (6), (9), (10) and (11), nor of the bracketed infinitive in -i=Fr. infinitive in -ir. In regard to no. (8), dialect dž=Fr. d+ vowel (usually i) followed by another vowel as in džâb=Fr. *diable*, there is no concrete

¹⁶³ This interesting trait n=Fr. *an* I noted in Paper No. I, note 78.

¹⁶⁴ Of course, there is no way of knowing how this *une* is pronounced. Very naturally the native of Cheticamp, C. B., who read me the article pronounced it *on* which here has no significance in enabling one to conclude definitely.

example to establish an identical trait in Waterville. Because Waterville $d\check{z}$ =Fr. d followed by i when final as in $mód\check{z}i$ =Fr. *maudit* (phrase no. 54), or when the i is followed by a pronounced consonant as in $d\check{z}irir$ =Fr. *guérir* (phrase no. 49), is not sufficient to determine absolutely what the dialect pronunciation is when the i is followed by another vowel as in French *Dieu*;—cf. the Cheticamp pronunciations: $mudi$ =Fr. *maudit*, dir =Fr. *dire* and $d\check{z}ô$ =Fr. *Dieu*.

On the other hand, the Waterville *Specimens* contain examples in this Table of the traits numbered (1), (4), (5) and (7); thus as examples under (1), of this Acadian Table No. 2, we find in the Waterville *Specimens* in phrases nos. 29, 43 and 87: $aprè$ =Fr. *après*. As an example under (4) in phrase no. 23 we find $t\check{s}èl$ =Fr. *quel* and a number of other examples of $t\check{s}$ =Fr. k +front vowel follow. Under (5) in phrase no. 30 $mòt\check{s}è$ =Fr. *moitié* and under (7) in phrase no. 34 $d\check{z}òl$ =Fr. *gueule*, as well as other examples of $d\check{z}$ =Fr. g +front vowel following. Thus of twelve quite well marked features belonging as a rule to Acadian French, there appear four well-defined ones in the Waterville *Specimens*, one, no. (8), not well marked, and seven do not appear in the dialect.

Turning now to the Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Canadian than Acadian regions (Table No. 3), the Waterville *Specimens* do not contain examples under (1), (4), (5) and (7), for these traits, as has just been shown, apply to (1), (4), (5) and (7) of Table No. 2; while the Waterville dialect does contain examples under (2): $òm$ =Fr. *homme* (phrase no. 2 of *Specimens*); under (3): $mwè$ =Fr. *moi* (phrase no. 14); under (6): $ètsü$ =Fr. *es-tu* (phrase no. 29); under (9): $mid\check{z}i$ =Fr. *midi* (phrase no. 40); under (10) $æn$ =Fr. *une* (phrases nos. 63 and 64); and under (11) $ô$ =Fr. *on*, for *nous* (phrase no. 46). In regard to (8) in this Table, I do not consider the data in the *Specimens* sufficient to establish the pronunciation of the dialect form corresponding to Fr. d before a vowel+ a vowel as in Fr. *diamant*. The form ma =Fr. *moi*, found in phrases nos. 44, 45 and 49, I think must be classed by itself as a local dialect peculiarity,¹⁴⁴ while the examples $mwè$ =Fr. *moi* (no. 14); $twè$ =Fr. *toi* (no. 76); $lwè$ =Fr. *loi* (no. 100); $bwè$ =Fr. *boît*

(no. 96); $vwè$ =Fr. *voix* (no. 110) and $rwè$ =Fr. *roi* (no. 114) are clear proofs of Canadian usage. Thus, then, we find that of the eleven well-marked traits in Table No. 3, the Waterville *Specimens* contain no examples of (1), (4), (5) and (7) (for which traits see the preceding Acadian Table No. 2); that (8) cannot, as I believe, be well determined, and that it does contain clearly marked examples of the characteristics under (2), (3), (6), (9), (10) and (11).

There are, then, according to what has just been shown, four well-defined Acadian traits in the Waterville *Specimens* and six well-defined Canadian features,—the dialect thus showing considerable mixture. Of course no such arbitrary mathematical deduction furnishes any conclusive evidence as to the character of a dialect, for some traits are more important by far than others, and have more character in themselves, because of the manner and frequency of their use. It seems to me noteworthy that the Waterville dialect appears not to have the Canadian æ sound corresponding to Fr. è in endings in *-aie*, *-ais*, *-ait*, *-et*, etc. I say *appears* because I believe the data insufficient to decide the point. As an offset to not having this in general quite characteristic mark of Canadian regions (if this be really the case that it does not appear in the dialect), it fails, on the other hand, to show an equally distinguishing mark indicating probably Acadian regions,—the $z(\text{ə})$ =Fr. *je* with the ending $\delta(z)$ =Fr. *-ons*, but retains the Canadian usage, that is, more distinctively Canadian than Acadian,¹⁶⁴ (bis) of δ =Fr. *on* in the sense of *nous*. The dialect, however, does contain *three* finely marked Acadian features and very characteristic ones: under (4) of Table No. 2, $t\check{s}$ =Fr. k before front vowels; under (5), dialect $t\check{s}$ =Fr. $\check{t}$ +vowel (usually i) followed by another vowel and under (7), dialect $d\check{z}$ =Fr. g , followed by a front vowel. That these traits appear as clearly as they do seems to me rather remarkable, considering the location of Waterville and the favorable chances of its exposure to Canadian influence. Indeed this dialect has more of what may be regarded as indicating typical Acadian features than has that which I

¹⁶⁴ (bis) "... l'emploi du pronom indéfini *on* pour *nous* est bien moins répandu qu'au Canada." P. Poirier in *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, vol. iii, p. 63 et seq.

examined at Tracadiegetche (now Carleton), a genuine Acadian settlement on the north shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, made up originally of refugees from Tracadie; for this latter dialect had only what one might term perhaps the less plainly-marked dialect characteristics of Acadian French,—that is, the features under (1), (3), (6), (9) and (10) in Table No. 2, while of the features classified as apt to be Canadian, in Table No. 3, it had six: (2), (4), (5), (7), (8) and (11), which seem to me more marked features and stamp the dialect in spite of its Acadian origin as more Canadian in character than Acadian. The reason of this in Tracadiegetche seems to be due principally to two active forces: 1°. Canadian influence, and 2°. the influence of education. This latter force seems comparatively speaking to be more absent from the Waterville dialect as an influencing factor than in some other dialect speech throughout the Dominion. Notwithstanding the well-marked Acadian traits which I have tried to show clearly that the Waterville French possesses, upon looking at the speech as a whole, which seems to me the most natural way of receiving an impression of speech character (I mean of course after getting at the facts of the case as has been done) were I called upon to classify the *Specimens*, it would seem to me proper to call the dialect a French-Canadian dialect with Acadian admixture. If originally this Waterville dialect contained other features such as have been shown likely to be found in Acadian regions, the comparison will have brought out to what extent Canadian influence may have prevailed.

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JAMES GEDDES, JR.

Boston University.

FAUST ii, vv. 106-108.

"Von Sturz zu Sturzen wälzt er jetzt in tausend,
Dann abertausend Strömen sich ergiessend,
Hoch in die Lüfte Schaum an Schäume sausend."

Though Loeper and a majority of the interpreters do not comment upon the construction of this passage, Schröer and Thomas rightly recognize its difficulty. Thomas, with others, takes *sausend* as a transitive verb, meaning 'sending with a roar;' the cataract "leaps from plunge to plunge, breaking in a myriad streams and roaring masses of foam high into the air." But the native language-tact rebels against the use of *sich* as a common reflexive shared by *wälzt* and *ergiessend*. As for supposing that *sich* is simply omitted after *wälzt*, *metri gratia*, or that *wälzen*, without the reflexive, can mean 'leap,' German idiom enters an emphatic protest.

Thomas concludes his exegesis of the lines thus: "Schröer thinks this inadmissible and would connect *Schaum an Schäume* with *wälzt*."

This is what Schröer says:

"Der Wasserfall wälzt sich sausend. 'Hoch in die Lüfte' hat kein Prädikat. 'Er saust Schaum an Schäume' ist nicht anzunehmen und demnach zu ergänzen: (der Wasserfall wälzt sich) und schleudert fortgesetzt Schaum an Schaum."

It appears, then, that Schröer is misunderstood by Thomas. Far from connecting *Schaum an Schäume* with *wälzt*, the German commentator lays stress on the absence of a predicate for *Hoch in die Lüfte Schaum an Schäume*, and supplies the object of *wälzt* from the next verse: *sich*.

Now Schröer's construction is very difficult. The reader has an uneasy feeling, as if *wälzt* and *ergiessend* were fighting for the possession of *sich*, which as yet belongs to neither, the predicate-less *Schaum an Schäume* watching the struggle from its uncomfortable position 'high up in the air.' The transitive *sausend*, which Schröer considers out of the question, is not half so difficult as the conjectural ellipsis in v. 108.

My own 'Sprachgefühl' has always connected *Schaum an Schäume* with *wälzt* as accusative object with predicate. The same construction evidently occurred to Professor Thomas, who somehow imputed it to Schröer.

The editions, so far as I know them, have a comma at the end of v. 106, but no other punctuation in the line. But the form *Sturzen*, which is probably "ein fortgeerbter Abschreibefehler" for *Stürzen* (Schröer), throws a certain suspicion on the line. What if the involvedness of the entire sentence should give way before the mere insertion of a comma?

I think that a comma was omitted by Goethe, or by his copyist. Without it, we must read a meaning into the sentence. With it, the sentence becomes perfectly clear. The question is: Shall the comma be placed before, or after *jetzt*? I am for the first position, because *jetzt* derives its value in the context chiefly from an antithesis with *dann* (v. 107).

I would, therefore, propose this reading:

"Von Sturz zu Sturzen wälzt er, jetzt in tausend,
Dann abertausend Strömen sich ergiessend,
Hoch in die Lüfte Schaum an Schäume sausend,"

taking, of course, *sausend* as a modifier of the verb, not of the object.

The passage, in prose, would read:

Von Sturz zu Sturzen wälzt er sausend Schaum an Schaum in die Lüfte, sich jetzt (=zuerst) in tausend, dann in abertausend Strömen ergiessend.

OTTO HELLER.

Washington University, St. Louis.